HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Why Not Abandon Compulsory Congregation?

By RUSSELL KIRK

At a time when the Nixon Administration must deal decisively with great issues in foreign policy, fiscal problems and urban confusion, infinite time is spent by federal people in trying to run school districts throughout the land.

North and South, officials of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and federal judges, issue bewildering decisions regarding racial integration in schools, busing, and all that. Meanwhile, tempers grow hotter in every school district affected, and standards of instruction and discipline decline ruinously.

Consider the second city of Michigan, Grand Rapids. A general boycott by students is demanded by opponents of "compulsory congregation"—that is, of total integration by school bus, regardless of the wishes of parents or the practical consequences to schools or neighborhood patterns. The more violent opponents of this integration plan are said to threaten to burn down the churches of ministers who do not favor the strike, and to menace physically anyone who speaks out against them.

Who are these "segregationists," ardent to retain the established neighborhood-school pattern? Ku Klux Klan? Oh, no: they're the black militants, who would have all Negro children withdraw from school, to show the school board their power.

But the protesters are not militants only. A great many more moderate colored people oppose integration by bus, believing that it would handicap their children. And also there is fierce opposition from white neighborhoods. Three school-board members were elected recently on a platform of "no busing."

Pity the Grand Rapids Board of Education. If that board's members persist in busing "inner city" children to schools on the fringe, they will invite total disorder in the schools; the mere beginning of this policy, during the past year, brought chaos into schools previously tranquil. But if they abandon the policy, they fear that a federal court will order them to resume it, regardless of consequences. (Actually, there is no court directive compelling busing in Grand Rapids, at present.)

Grand Rapids' conundrum is experienced by virtually every big city in the country, in some degree. And the chief sufferers are school children.

Much of the difficulty, reflected in decisions of federal courts and in policies of HEW, is this: a confounding of "desegregation" with "compulsory congregation." Desegregation means that no one should be denied educational opportunity because of race: Public schools restricted to one race are in violation of the Constitution.

But compulsory congregation means that there must be total racial integration in public schools, whether the people most intimately concerned like it or not; it is an attempt to use public schools as a leveling sociological laboratory.

No Supreme Court decision ever has decreed complusory congregation through busing and similar methods, though some inferior federal judges act as if they had such authorization.

Now suppose—as in Grand Rapids—that a large part of the Negro population doesn't desire compulsory congregation; suppose they prefer neighborhood schools; suppose they resent the whole notion of total integration now, believing it reflects the belief of white liberals that the Negro is a constitutional inferior, who can be improved only by being submerged in a crowd of white people.

Well, then: for whose benefit is this total integration intended? Are the white urban neighborhoods and suburbs desperately eager for it? Why persist in a policy that makes the task of schooling infinitely more difficult for everybody?

Black and white together now oppose busing to achieve "compulsory congregation," says the author, asking "for whose benefit is this total integration intended?"

Grand Rapids educationists are promoting a panacea already nominally adopted—and already tacitly abandoned—in Pittsburgh and Chicago: creation of a gigantic "educational park" to which all high school pupils would be transported by bus. It's an abstract and nonsensical scheme: if high schools are difficult to control on their present scale, one would encounter real anarchy and depersonalization in the "educational park." And why should merely jamming all young people on one campus produce racial amity?

Probably the remedies must come from more sensible policies in HEW and clarifying, moderate decisions by the reconstituted Supreme Court, under Chief Justice Burger. Education, like politics, is the art of the possible. To rouse hatred in the name of equality is consummate folly, especially in schools.

The only tolerable settlement that this commentator can discern would be something as follows:

- Insure that children of "ethnic minorities" can attend the schools in their own neighborhood, even if those schools are predominantly white; and may be transported to other schools if that clearly would be to their advantage, and if their parents desire it.
- Abandon doctrinaire attempts at compulsory congregation; accept the natural neighborhood school pattern; and work hard to improve those neighborhood schools that, for whatever reason, seem inferior.

For the purpose of a public school is not to transform society, but to teach children.

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NEWSPAPER

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Capital Briefs

● Sen. **Roman Hruska** is being urged to drop out of the three-way battle for leader of the Senate Republicans. The conservative Hruska, say insiders, who lost to Hugh Scott, the Pennsylvania liberal, for the whip post in January, won't be able to beat him out for minority leader either. The Nebraskan, accordingly, is being pressed by anti-Scott Republicans to swing his support behind Tennessee's moderate conservative, Howard Baker. Only if Hruska supports Baker, it is believed, can Scott be positively stopped in his bid to lead the Senate GOP.

● President Nixon's decision to pull out **35,000 additional troops** from South Viet Nam does not disquiet the U.S. military brass. Gen. Creighton Abrams, commander of American troops in Viet Nam, is said to feel—at least under the present conditions—that the United States can withdraw up to 100,000 men without materially affecting the war effort.

● Despite the President's efforts to tamp down the peace movement with withdrawals, the **New Left** is planning a nationwide fall "peace offensive" that is to be climaxed with a mass march and rally at the White House on November 15. Radical spokesman Rennie Davis, who helped craft the Chicago convulsions at the 1968 Democratic nominating convention, claims the White House affair will include the "broadest coalition of various groups ever brought together to launch a peace offensive."

● Leaders of the Pennsylvania Republican organization are pressuring former Gov. **William Scranton** to run for his old job next fall. But Scranton tells them that "under no circumstances" will he again run for office.

● Despite weeping by liberal columnist Joseph Kraft, White House hawks are pleased with the recent rash of resignations from the staff of the **National Security Council.** Among those who have left: Daniel Davidson, a former aide to W. Averell Harriman, and Morton Halperin, a unilateral disarmament advocate. While there are various reasons for the resignations, the fact that most were considered "soft-liners" had a "lot to do with it," say knowledgeable observers.

● Harvard University has hired **Milton A. Galamison,** the radical-leftist who once served on the New York City Board of Education, courtesy of an appointment by Mayor John Lindsay. Galamison, who delivered the keynote address at the founding convention of the Communist-spawned W.E.B. Du-Bois Clubs, will direct a faculty-student committee putting together an urban studies program at Harvard's graduate school of education.

● *School officials in Netcong, N.J., may have* found a way to circumvent the Supreme Court's ban on **prayer in the schools.** Students are permitted to attend a five-minute meditation period before school actually begins at which a selection is read to them from the Congressional Record—the opening prayer delivered by the chaplain of the House or Senate. Over 90 per cent of the students have chosen to attend the voluntary sessions. Not surprisingly, the New Jersey American Civil Liberties Committee announced it would go into court to prohibit the readings.

● The New York Times would not divulge the name of its source, but reporter Richard Reeves quoted a New York City "Democrat of important position" as saying, "If [John] Lindsay is reelected, I think he might be the **Democratic candidate for President in 1972** and would probably be our candidate for vice president. . . .With Teddy Kennedy in trouble over the bridge, Lindsay could fill a vacuum in this party—we'd treat him like a hero." Lindsay has been literally begging prominent Democrats to support him in his fight for reelection this year—and has been reportedly promising the moon to get this backing.

● **U. Alexis Johnson,** not Secretary of State William P. Rogers, is reported to be the man really in charge over at the State Department. Neither Rogers nor Elliot Richardson, say diplomatic observers, are very familiar with the department, so most of the burden of running it has fallen on the No. 3 man, career diplomat Johnson.

● A defector from Castro Cuba has told Senate probers that **U.S. revolutionaries** are now being trained in his native land. Arnesto E. Blanco, a professor at Tufts University, linked Castro to the Republic of New Africa, a Detroit-based group headed by fiery black nationalist Robert Williams, who recently returned to the United States from eight years in Cuba, China and Tanzania.

● A unique conference on the subject of **international Communist training** and subversion took place last week on the campus of the University of South Carolina. There, some 20 former Communist cadre members met with a dozen liberal-leaning U.S. academic analysts of communism to discuss their personal experiences in the Red underground. After the conference, a newly enlightened Foy D. Kohler, former U.S. ambassador to Moscow and now a Florida college professor, admitted "over the years we had neglected to look profoundly at people available who had trained inside Communist movements in Russia and elsewhere and who had quit and whose knowledge was available if we would tap it."

● Columnist **Jack Anderson,** according to news reports last week, has signed a contract with the Bell-McClure Syndicate which gives him exclusive control of the column he helped Drew Pearson write for so many years. Pearson's widow, Luvie, owns half interest in the title, "Washington Merry-Go-Round" and will continue to draw royalties from Anderson for use of the title. She also owns one-third of Bell-McClure.

● Freshman Sen. **William Saxbe** (R.-Ohio) is getting nowhere fast in his one-man campaign to secure the job of Senate Republican whip for liberal Chuck Percy of Illinois. Saxbe says that Percy needs the post to obtain the "national exposure" that can win him the GOP presidential nomination in 1976.

● **Dean Burch,** the Arizona lawyer who was Barry Goldwater's Republican national chairman, was selected by President Nixon last week to head the Federal Communications Commission. The appointment angered at least one Republican senator, an Eastern liberal, who told colleagues it was a "deliberate slap at the progressive wing" of the party.

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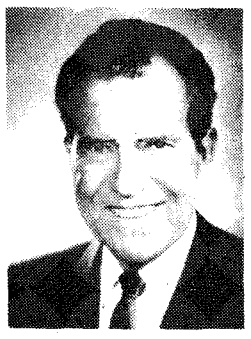
Nixon Cheered in 'Wallace Country'

President Nixon's recent visit to Gulfport, Miss.—in the wake of the destruction of Hurricane Camille—appears to have had far deeper political significance than much of the national press has yet reported. For what it reveals is that the South—including the Deep South—has developed an astonishing affection for the 37th President of the United States.



NIXON

When Air Force One touched down at Gulfport's municipal airport at 7:30 p.m. Monday, September 8, the largest airport crowd ever to greet the President—estimated officially at between 50,000 and 75,000—was on hand to cheer his words of hope and his pledge of disaster aid. Frenzied rebel yells greeted the President, and placards dotting the crowds saluted not only Nixon but Vice President Spiro T. Agnew.

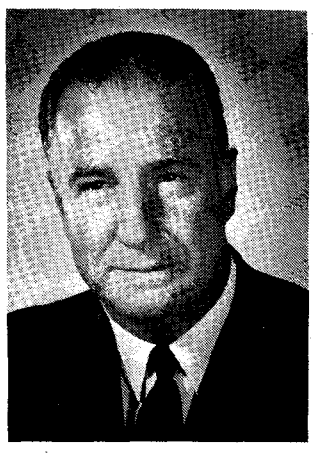
After concluding a 10-minute address in which he praised the Mississippian's "spirit in face of such adversity," the President then decided to shake a few hands among the cheering throng that faced him across the roped-off police lines.

When the President and his wife, shielded by Secret Service agents and Mississippi state troopers, began making their way back to Air Force One, the yelling crowd broke through the ropes and cordon of police and security agents, catching the President in a swirling sea of humanity. At one point, Nixon was almost knocked off his feet.

Even *Time* magazine noted that the President had "ignited a frenzy of affection unlike anything seen in American politics since the campaign of the late Robert Kennedy." Clearly it was the most tumultuous reception the President has received since he was inaugurated nine months ago.

The political significance of the espisode was caught not only by the Mississippi papers, but by out-of-staters, including the Birmingham *News*' Ted Pearson. Pearson wrote that it was safe to conclude that nobody was more surprised than the President when he saw and felt the overwhelming response from Mississippians.

"It was they," he noted, "not the President, who infused the historic affair with some political overtones. As a result, presidential watchers around the country are obliged to mark it down—and doubly underline it—in their books of pluses and minuses of Nixon's popularity.



AGNEW

McNAIR

"To all of them, the most obvious impact was the spectacular outpouring of pro-Nixon sentiment very deep in the heart of the Deep South—not just in Mississippi, but as far south as you can go in Mississippi.

"No crowd anywhere, anytime, responded to the Nixon presence as this one did. . .this was a crowd, ranging from 50,000 to 75,000, that refused to be held back by three-deep lines of police security in its determination to get close to Nixon, just to touch him or shake his hand.

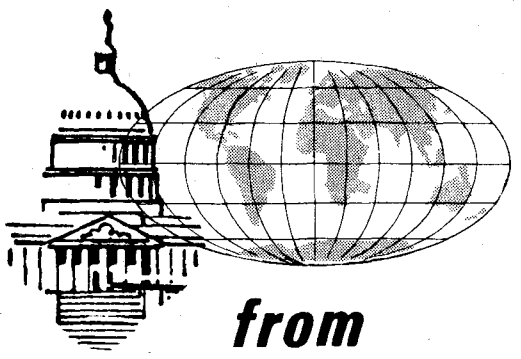
"It all took place, without prearrangement or planning, in a state that has been consistently 'Wallace country,' and at the very time that George Wallace has been throwing a few unkind jabs in Nixon's direction.

"Newsmen regularly travelling with the President, as well as presidential aides, were startled by what their ears and eyes told them. . . .They [the crowd] seemed to be telling Nixon they feel he's running the country like they want it run. . . .[I]t's a matter of record that the President has received his most overwhelming acclamation since he entered the White House in a state that didn't even vote for him."

In brief, Nixon's overtures to the South—Harry Dent at the White House, Judge Haynsworth's nomination to the Supreme Court, the Administration's Southern-tailored welfare proposal, the slowdown in integration, etc.,—have not gone unnoticed by a section of the country that the Democrats have been ignoring at their peril. (Indeed, just last week South Carolina's Gov. Robert E. McNair, speaking for other Southern Democratic governors, was openly complaining that the national Democratic party was becoming a narrowly liberal, non-Southern-oriented organization.)

Whether President Nixon can convert Dixie into permanent Republican territory remains to be seen, but his moment at Gulfport suggests that he is on his way to doing just that.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



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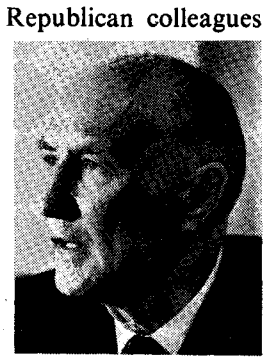
Inside Washington

Strom's Fast Footwork

Sen. Strom Thurmond, the conservative South Carolinian, has upset his liberal Republican colleagues by blocking one of their own from picking up a choice spot on the Judiciary Committee.



THURMOND

When the Republican Committee on Committees met last week to decide what senators should fill the various committee vacancies left open by the death of Sen. Everett Dirksen (Ill.), Thurmond had to maneuver quickly to prevent Sen. Jacob Javits from engineering fellow New Yorker Charles Goodell into the Judiciary job.

The Committee on Committees had orginally asked everyone to request what assignment he desired in writing. Sen. Ed Gurney (R.-Fla.), a dyed-in-the-wool conservative, had staked out a claim on Judiciary. Goodell had written for Finance, but when Goodell had been beaten out of that job, Sen. Javits, a member of the Committee on Committees, telephoned Goodell—his equally liberal colleague—and told him to take the Judiciary assignment.

Since Goodell has seniority over Gurney, he, presumably, would have been entitled to the post. But when Javits then informed the committee that Goodell wanted the Judiciary vacancy, Thurmond objected, pointing out that the committee had asked for *written* requests for committee assignments. If oral requests were to be made, stressed Thurmond, then all the other Republican senators should be made aware that they, too, could orally request a seat on the Judiciary Committee.

The South Carolina Republican then urged that the appointment be put off for at least a day so others could be informed of the matter. The committee agreed.

By the next day, Sen. Robert Griffin (Mich.), a moderate Republican, had made his own bid for the Judiciary post, after having been urged to do so by conservative Republican Roman Hruska (Neb.). Most observers agree that the ultra-liberal Goodell would have had the post, however, if it hadn't been for Thurmond.

House Scraps Electoral College

The House of Representatives last week passed by more than a two-thirds vote H. J. Res. 681, a proposed constitutional amendment which, if approved by the Senate and ratified by three-fourths of the states, will drastically alter the way in which we elect the President and vice president of the United States.

For some 180 years, presidential elections have been controlled by the states, largely through the device of the electoral college system. Under this system, the voters in each state selected a slate of electors pledged to a single presidential candidate, with the biggest population states entitled to the largest number of electors. These state electors, in turn, then cast their ballots for the President.

But under H. J. Res. 681, the electoral college system will be swept away. No longer will electors be involved in the presidential process; instead of each state, through its electors, casting a specific number of electoral votes for the President, each citizen will be permitted to vote for the President directly. Any presidential candidate gathering the most number of popular votes, provided he rolls up at least 40 per cent of the total, will be declared the winner. And if no candidate receives 40 per cent, there will be a run-off between the top two vote-getters.

This sudden spurt for reform can be traced to the 1968 election, in which it was feared that no presidential

Correction

In discussing the "Members of Congress for Peace Through Law" organization last week, *Human Events* made a serious error in connection with a Prof. Tom Reeves of Federal City College. Prof. Reeves, who has an office in the same building as the Peace Through Law Group, does not work for that organization as our article implied. His only connection is that he uses its mimeograph machine. Miss Rebecca Rubenstein was quoted in our story as saying that Prof. Reeves had hoped to persuade a millionaire Texan to supply money to the Peace Through Law Group. Miss Rubenstein, a secretary to the organization, insists she was not referring to Prof. Reeves, but Rep. Thomas Rees (D.-Calif.). Finally, Prof. Reeves takes sharp issue with our characterization of his views. On the basis of reports about his public speeches that we believed at the time were accurate, and came from a source which had proved reliable in the past, we said, for instance, that Prof. Reeves had praised the East German regime. He acknowledges he is for "democratic socialism" and admits to having praised various aspects of the East German regime, including its medical and educational systems, but he feels we should also have mentioned that he has strongly condemned many features of the Ulbricht government as "oppressive," such as its travel restrictions. Prof. Reeves also insists that he has condemned—not defended—the invasion of Czechoslovakia and that his statements maintaining that the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia is on a moral par with the "U.S. invasion of Viet Nam" should not be construed as a "defense." *Human Events* very much regrets these mistakes.

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candidate would capture a majority of the electoral votes and the election would be tossed into the House of Representatives.

Even though this never happened and even though the House has not determined an election for 144 years, many are afraid that if a future election had to be decided by the House, chaos might result. Since the House *has* correctly performed its constitutional duty in the past, however, why the House would be unable to perform its duty in the future is somewhat unclear.

Despite the House's action last week, however, there is growing concern, particularly in the Senate, that the "direct election" amendment might be a far more serious threat to the federal system than the possibility that a future election might one day have to be determined by the House of Representatives. For it is becoming increasingly clear that the "direct election" approach would greatly diminish states' rights while enormously augmenting the powers of the federal government.

Not only would the electoral college be abolished, affecting the powers of all the states, but, without the electoral system, 33 of the smaller states would lose one-fifth or more of their political force in presidential elections.

Rep. Edward Hutchinson (R.-Mich.), a member of the House Judiciary Committee, further stresses that Section 2 of the proposed amendment contains a "breakthrough in federal power." "Nowhere in the present Constitution," he points out, "is the federal government empowered to fix the qualifications for voting. In every respect, voting qualifications have been vested in the states. But Section 2. . .grants to Congress the power to establish uniform residence qualifications to vote for the President and vice president. Lest anyone rely on a strict construction of this power in the belief that it means only what it says, let him remember how other grants of power to the federal government are being construed today. . . ."

Section 4, Hutchinson maintains, contains a second breakthrough in federal power, for it stresses that the "Congress may at any time by law" prescribe "entitlement to inclusion on the ballot" in presidential elections. In short, Congress can determine what presidential candidates and vice presidential candidates are on the ballot in every state. According to the Michigan congressman, this provision would actually enable Congress to "provide the machinery for national primaries or set forth the manner in which delegates to national political conventions shall be apportioned and selected, and could even prescribe convention procedures. Whatever appears to the courts to be reasonable condition to 'entitlement to inclusion on the ballot' would stand muster under this broad grant of federal power."

Hutchinson suggests that Section 5 appears equally dangerous, for here Congress may decide what should be done in the case of "death, inability or withdrawal" of a candidate for President or vice president before the election, and in case both the President-elect and vice president-elect die after the election but before the inaugural.

In short, the new constitutional amendment not only drastically curtails the powers of the states but the powers of political parties as well.

Interestingly enough, many lawmakers are now citing Theodore White, the liberal chronicler of presidential campaigns, in their opposition to the "direct election" plan. In *The Making of the President: 1968,* White maintains that to approve the popular vote plan "is to be so unaware of past reality as to approach insanity."

MUNDT

HUTCHINSON

Direct, national, one-man, one-vote elections, he maintains, would eventually require a "national election law establishing national qualifications and national registration in every one of the 3,130 counties of the United States.

"But it requires more than that—it requires national surveillance of each of the approximately 167,000 voting precincts of the United States. And no national surveillance can work without the establishment of a national police system. Those who report elections know, alas, that the mores and morality of vote-counting vary from state to state. . . .

"The present federal system compartmentalizes voting in the United States by states; the votes of honest states are not balanced off or out-balanced by dishonest counting in other states; contagion or vote-stealing is limited. If all the 68 million votes of 1960 and all the 73 million votes of 1968 had been cast in one great national pool, then the tiny margins of victory in both elections would have evaporated. Each candidate would, necessarily, have had to call for a recount, and recounts would have continued, nationwide, for months. Vote-stealers in a dozen states would have matched crafts on the level of history; and, so slim was the margin, we might yet be waiting for the final results of both elections. And no practical proposal has yet been made to establish either national qualifications, national registration or, above all, national surveillance of counting."

As a result of this growing criticism, many are now looking to the Senate to stop the "popular vote" plan. The chances, in fact, are good. Not widely reported is that back in May the Constitutional Amendments subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee, chaired by Sen. Birch Bayh (D.-Ind.), defeated Bayh's one-man, one-vote proposal and reported to the full committee a constitutional amendment based on Sen. Karl Mundt's (R.-S.D.) district plan. While this plan (see *Human Events*, January 18, page 8) will modify the presidential system somewhat, it preserves states' rights and leaves the electoral college system intact.

Constitutionalist are hoping the full Judiciary Committee and the Senate itself will start to rally behind the Mundt plan in order to stop the unnecessarily radical direct election proposal.

Perkins' 'Aid' to Campus Rioters

Both liberal and conservative lawmakers are infuriated with the antics of Rep. Carl Perkins (D.-Ky.) for his role in blocking all student unrest amendments to the emergency loan legislation that zipped through the House last week. The cantankerous, tyrannical chairman of the Education and Labor Committee, who had been sitting on the measure for more than a month, finally permitted the legislation to surface for a vote, but only after he had made sure that no amendments could be offered from the House floor.

PERKINS

Many members who desperately wanted to amend the measure to deal with campus disorders voted for the unamended legislation on the grounds it was urgently needed and shouldn't really be delayed any further—even though the delay had been caused by Perkins himself.

Unquestionably a popular piece of legislation, the measure is designed to help thousands of students obtain tuition loans by permitting the federal government to make "incentive payments" to private lending institutions that grant loans to students.

Existing law places a 7 per cent ceiling on the interest that banks may charge student borrowers. Many banks have thus been reluctant to make student loans because even the prime interest rate—the rate banks charge their best customers—rose to a whopping 8.5 per cent in early June.

The House bill sought to rectify the situation with the student loan measure—a device permitting the government to pay banks incentive fees of up to an additional 3 per cent, depending on the market.

The bill, virtually all lawmakers agreed, was vital to make it possible for between 150,000 and 200,000 needy students to obtain necessary loans. But Perkins decided to sit on the measure until he could get his way. The legislation had been introduced on July 30 and reported to the House on August 7. For over a month Perkins refused to permit it to come to the floor on the grounds that it might be altered.

Rep. William Scherle (R.-Iowa) and 140 other members of the House, who signed a letter requesting Perkins to give "immediate consideration" to the bill, were frankly told by Perkins that he didn't want to give the House the opportunity to accept or reject amendments.

In short, the House members were not permitted to work their will. Why, asked Scherle, should amendments have been disallowed? "Why," he wondered, "should the taxpayers of this country be forced to subsidize student radicals, when every public poll indicates they oppose doing so? Why should over 200 deanships go begging for fear of personal physical harm? Why should already overburdened colleges continue to coddle malevolent malcontents when space could be made available for conscientious, deserving students?" Because of Perkins, Scherle was not permitted to make any amendments along these lines.

But not only the conservative-minded Scherle was burning. So was Rep. Edith Green, a liberal Oregon Democrat. She charged on the House floor that a minority of the House lawmakers not only engineered to bring up the student loan bill without chance for amendment, but that this same coterie has demanded that "no bill come out from the Education and Labor Committee unless it is considered on the floor under suspension [of the rules], so nobody here can offer an amendment. What kind of deliberate process is this? Are we going to submit to this?"

Because it was already mid-September when the loan legislation came up for a vote and because the students need the loans now, Mrs. Green, as well as a great number of other members, voted for the measure even though Perkins had arranged it so they could not offer any amendments. But Mrs. Green, after several efforts, got Perkins to make a semi-promise that no other "controversial" legislation would come out of his committee without chance for alterations. Although Mrs. Green took Perkins at his word, other lawmakers are certain that Boss Perkins will do everything he can to prevent the Congress from passing legislation dealing with campus disorders.

Dirksen Replacement Seated

Illinois Gov. Richard Ogilvie has appointed the speaker of the state house of representatives, Republican Ralph T. Smith, to the Senate seat vacated by the late Everett Dirksen.

The nomination is widely viewed in political circles as a deal—Smith pulled out of the gubernatorial race last year to support Ogilvie—but both men insist the appointment was made on its merits.

The 54-year-old Smith was first elected to the legislature from downstate Alton in 1954. He has served there ever since, winning the speaker's post in 1967.

Smith has spoken infrequently on national issues, although several Illinois Republicans term him a "pragmatic conservative." Arriving in Washington last week, the new solon said he had not decided whom to support for Senate minority leader, indicating he would back whatever candidate could help him the most.

Smith said that he would give the Nixon Administration loyal support on most issues and told reporters he favored a reduction of taxes—"but I suppose I would agree with the President that this must be done only to a reasonable degree."

The new arrival said that he supported two of his predecessor's pet projects—constitutional

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William H. Chamberlin

William Henry Chamberlin, one of America's best-known conservative authors and critics and a frequent contributor to the *Wall Street Journal, Human Events* and other publications, died September 12 in Switzerland. He was 72. A great admirer of the Swiss character and what he felt was their freedom-preserving form of limited government, he chose Switzerland for his annual vacation also because, he said, it was the only country that maintained beautiful walking paths. He was a great walking enthusiast and became even more so after suffering a stroke three years ago that, at age 69, made it impossible for him to continue playing tennis, another of his favorite pursuits.

Mr. Chamberlin was once an avid radical and when he went to Moscow in 1922 as a correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor* he was a strong sympathizer with the Soviet regime. During his 12-year stay, however, he came to despise communism and turned into one of its bitterest and most telling critics. Among his books are: *The Evolution of a Conservative, Collectivism—A False Utopia, The Russian Enigma: An Interpretation and Appeasement—Road to War.*

A resident of Cambridge, Mass., Mr. Chamberlin is survived by a daughter, Mrs. Klaus Epstein, and three grandchildren.

amendments overturning the Supreme Court decisions on school prayer and one-man, one-vote.

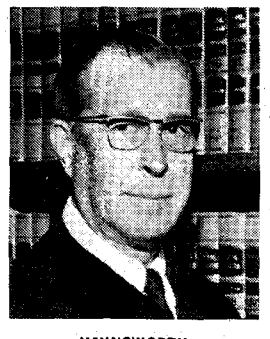
Smith will serve until November 1970, when he will run for the unexpired four-year portion of Dirksen's term. And most political pros believe he will face an uphill fight. The new senator is little known outside the Alton area—particularly in vote-heavy Cook County and its suburbs. Conservative businessman-columnist William Rentschler has already announced he will challenge Smith in the GOP primary next year and he could well be joined by others.

If Smith survives the primary, his all-but-certain Democratic opponent is State Treasurer Adlai Stevenson III, possessor of a magic name in Illinois politics and a potent vote-getter on his own. Stevenson has not yet announced his candidacy, but he has the backing of both the Old Guard (Daley) and Reform wings of the Democratic party and his nomination is regarded as a certainty.

Most observers are of the opinion that several Republicans—notably Rep. John Anderson and State Atty. Gen. William Scott—would have made stronger candidates than Smith, but Ogilvie had apparently given his word and stuck by it.

Liberals Grill Haynsworth

President Richard Nixon's nominee to the Supreme Court—Judge Clement Haynsworth Jr.—underwent critical cross-examination by liberal members of the Senate Judiciary Committee last week, but the South Carolina jurist, objective observers agree, came away from the ordeal with his confirmation still assured. Despite brutal questioning, the opposition produced no evidence to show that Haynsworth's decisions as an appellate judge reflected an "anti-labor" or "anti-civil rights" bias. Neither could the liberals demonstrate that he had engaged in a "conflict of interest."



HAYNSWORTH

Indeed, the conflict-of-interest charges—at least those surrounding the judge's connection with Vend-A-Matic—were put down rather thoroughly. Both liberal and labor groups have insisted that because Haynsworth had a one-seventh interest in Vend-A-Matic, a vending firm serving several Deering Milliken textile plants, he should have disqualified himself from ruling in the Darlington case, since Darlington was a Deering Milliken subsidiary. Vend-A-Matic, however, did only a small part of its business with Deering Milliken interests and Darlington, itself, didn't even use Vend-A-Matic machines.

The Judiciary Committee last week produced a number of expert witnesses who came to Haynsworth's defense.

Arizona attorney John P. Frank, a liberal Democrat who is considered an expert on judicial ethics, testified that as long as the current federal rules are in effect, Judge Haynsworth's role in the 1963 Deering Milliken labor case should not be considered improper. Referring to that case, Frank said: "I can't find a reported case in the United States in which a federal judge disqualified himself in a situation remotely like this."

Lawrence E. Walsh, a former federal judge who, as deputy attorney general from 1958 to 1960, helped the Eisenhower Administration pick its judges, said the American Bar Association's Judiciary Committee found Haynsworth "highly acceptable" by professional standards and without fault in connection with the Vend-A-Matic affair.

Another surprise witness also came to Haynsworth's defense: John Bolt Culbertson, a labor and civil rights leader in Haynsworth's home town of Greenville, S.C.

Culbertson, a balding, white-haired country type with a rumpled suit and his papers stuffed in a paper sack, is president of the Greenville Bar Association. He wore a Teamster button, told crackerbarrel stories and boasted of crosses burned on his lawn and threats on his life for defending unpopular Negro causes. He is also a member of the Americans for Democratic Action. According to senators on both sides, Culbertson's two uproarious hours of testimony did more for Haynsworth's cause than a parade of smoother men.

Culbertson evidently didn't agree with Haynsworth's more conservative philosophy, but he said that Haynsworth was "an honest man" with "impeccable integrity." Culbertson stressed that Haynsworth "has as good a legal mind as there is in the United States. . . . He's no segregationist. If they try to make him out as a gross, dyed-in-the-wool segregationist, then they're wrong."

Why Did Williams Return?

Robert Franklin Williams, the fiery revolutionary who fled the United States eight years ago, returned home last week "to serve the cause of justice."

"And whatever that justice requires," Williams said cryptically, "I will do."

WILLIAMS

Williams eluded a nationwide man hunt in 1961 after being charged with kidnapping in Monroe, N.C. He found asylum in Cuba, then moved to Red China several years ago. In recent years Williams has spent considerable time in Tanzania, the Marxist state on Africa's east coast, but his base has remained Peking.

Williams served notice more than a year ago that he would return home and "lead the black struggle for self-determination." He finally arrived last week after U.S. government officials persuaded TWA airlines to "reconsider" an original decision not to carry Williams from London to Detroit. Exactly who persuaded TWA to bring Williams back is not clear; nor is it clear as to why TWA was persuaded. Also mystifying is why Williams, who faces a kidnapping charge, voluntarily returned, unless, of course, he was under the impression that he would never be convicted.

In any event, Williams was arrested in Detroit by the FBI, arraigned on a federal fugitive warrant, and freed on a $1,000 bond to face extradition proceedings on the kidnapping charge. The original indictment was overturned on the grounds that Negroes had been excluded from the North Carolina jury, but Williams was subsequently reindicted and faces trial.

Newspaper stories have described Williams as a "militant" and a black nationalist, but have, for the most part, soft-pedaled his crusade in preaching urban warfare tactics intended to be used by black guerrillas in American cities. His book, *Negroes With Guns,* has become the official guerrilla manual of several black extremist groups.

In his publication *The Crusader,* dated February 1964, Williams outlined his concept of guerrilla warfare. "The new concept of revolution," he related, "defies military science and tactics. The new concept is lightning campaigns conducted in highly sensitive urban communities with the paralysis reaching the small communities and spreading to the farm areas. The old method of guerrilla warfare, as carried out from the hills and countryside, would be ineffective in a powerful country like the U.S.A. . . .The new concept is to huddle as close to the enemy as possible so as to neutralize his modern and fierce weapons. . . . During the hours of day sporadic rioting takes place and massive sniping. Night brings all-out warfare, organized and unlimited terror against the oppressor and his forces. . . ."

In the *Crusader* newsletter of September-October 1967, he maintained that the "Afro-American is in range of the American giant's Achilles heel. American production, communications and the normal function of the affluent society are exposed to the Afro-American's natural revolutionary reaction to tyranny and oppression. . . .Any Afro-American revolt would consequently constitute a unique form of urban guerrilla warfare. The match and gasoline would be his most effective weapon."

In the same newsletter, Williams reveals how to make a Molotov cocktail and a "Black Power Bomb" to be used "against tanks and armored troop carriers where streets are narrow and buildings are three or four stories high." He also says that any successful insurrection would have to have a "highly mobile underground guerrilla force" that would "be well-versed in handling explosives and deadly accurate when deployed as snipers. . . ."

North Carolina authorities indicated last week they would move swiftly to have Williams extradited for trial on the kidnapping charges. But Williams' lawyer—veteran leftist Conrad Lynn—suggested that his client would fight extradition and expressed confidence that he would win. Again the question looms: why was the government apparently so eager to have Williams returned to the United States?

Conservative Awards Dinner Planned Oct. 4

Human Events, National Review, Young Americans for Freedom and the American Conservative Union have announced plans for a jointly sponsored dinner to honor for distinguished service a conservative member of the U.S. House of Representatives and a conservative member of the Senate. Billed as the First Annual Conservative Awards Dinner, the black tie event will be held at the Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D.C., Saturday, October 4 at 8:00 p.m.

Listed on the dinner committee are Hon. John M. Ashbrook, chairman, ACU; William F. Buckley Jr., Editor, National Review; John L. Jones, executive director, ACU; David Keene, national chairman, YAF; Robert D. Kephart, publisher, Human Events; William A. Rusher, publisher, National Review; Randal C. Teague, executive director, YAF; and Thomas Winter, editor, Human Events.

Persons interested in tickets for the dinner may write Conservative Awards Dinner, Suite 1, 328 Pennsylvania Ave., S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Tickets are $25 per person. Checks should be made payable to the First Annual Conservative Awards Dinner.

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Kuznetsov's Revelations Worry U.S. Intelligence Agents

By PAUL SCOTT

Anatoly V. Kuznetsov, the popular Soviet writer who defected while visiting Great Britain recently, has caused a major sensation in Western intelligence circles with his details of Kremlin intrigue and foreign operations.

The 39-year-old author, who had close contact with Soviet leaders for several years, has revealed that the KGB, the Soviet secret police, has agents in the highest levels of most Western governments—including Great Britain and the United States.

His startling revelations of Communist penetration of the West, Kuznetsov reported, came from conversations with high-ranking Russian officials privy to the KGB espionage and spy operations throughout the world.

As a member of the editorial board of the magazine *Yunost,* which has a circulation of more than two million, Kuznetsov attended meetings at which top Kremlin planners frankly discussed Soviet plans to dominate the world.

"The long objective of the foreign policy of the present Soviet leaders is to dominate the world," Kuznetsov told British intelligence officials during one debriefing session. "And they all agree that the U.S. is the only nation that can keep them from achieving this goal in their lifetime."

In high-level discussions of the war in Viet Nam, Kuznetsov said Soviet officials stressed that it was in the interest of the Soviet Union to keep the U.S. bogged down in North Viet Nam to try to break the will of the American people to oppose communism in the future.

Kuznetsov confirmed what many U.S. military officers have long contended: that Russia as the majority military supplier of North Viet Nam could end the war tomorrow, if it wanted to, by cutting off supplies to Hanoi.

The most important thing to remember about Moscow's foreign policy, according to Kuznetsov, is that it is conceived by the Communist party—not the Soviet government—and it is largely applied by the KGB and GRU, military intelligence service.

Kuznetsov pointed out that these are really the organizations that carry out most of the activities abroad which are known in the West as "diplomacy." The combined membership of KGB and GRU, he said, is far larger than the

Soviet writer-defector Kuznetsov had many stories to tell the West about Soviet secret police. Will the U.S. now make use of his defection?

roster of the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

The GRU is subordinate to the Defense Ministry. The more significant KGB, which really applies major diplomatic policy, is administered by the Communist party's Central Committee.

Kuznetsov reported that 60 per cent of the approximately 6,000 Soviet officials stationed outside the USSR today are actually career officers of either KGB or GRU. The proportion is even higher among accredited Russian diplomats. The entire Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow includes only some 1,300 people and even among them at least a third are intelligence professionals. The Moscow staff of the KGB approximates 6,000.

More than half of Russia's 75 envoys to non-Communist countries today are affiliated with KGB or GRU. The present Soviet ambassadors to the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, West Germany, India and Cambodia are KGB officials.

The work of KGB and GRU is enhanced, Kuznetsov stressed, by agents in key Western positions. Known as "agents of influence"—persons working secretly for Moscow to influence decisions of their own government—these persons reputedly include parliamentarians, politicians and ambassadors in several Western countries.

These and other Kuznetsov revelations passed along by the British have had a tremendous impact on American intelligence officials, but not the advisers of President Nixon who shape U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union.

The latter, headed by Henry Kissinger, presidential adviser on national security affairs, have vetoed all suggestions that Kuznetsov be helped to use his talents and popularity with Soviet youth to discredit the present Communist system in Russia.

★ ★ ★

The arrival in Moscow of Gen. Choe Hyon, North Korea's defense minister, is being closely watched by President Nixon's Far East advisers.

Although reputedly in Moscow for a "vacation," Gen. Choe Hyon brought with him a military delegation consisting of more than 30 generals and senior officers of North Korea's army, air force and navy.

An American Embassy official, who accidently witnessed the arrival at Sheremetyevo Airport, reported to the State Department that the North Korean military delegation was one of the largest to come to Moscow since the Korean War in the 1950s.

The North Korean military delegation's appearance in Moscow comes at a time when the Pyongyang regime has stepped up spreading reports that a new Korean War could break out at any time.

In an interview broadcast over radio Pyongyang on September 11, North Korean Premier Kim Il-song went so far as to charge that "The U.S. may launch a new war against North Korea at any moment."

This is the same type of phony charge that North Korea hurled at South Korea and the U.S. shortly before the Pyongyang regime launched its invasion of South Korea in 1950.

★ ★ ★

A dispute over one word in President Nixon's "work or else" requirement for welfare recipients is delaying the submission to Congress of legislation implementing his revolutionary welfare program.

The hang-up is over the word "suitable."

In announcing his controversial welfare proposal last month, the President stated that "everyone who accepts benefits must also accept work or training, provided suitable jobs are available either locally or at some distance if transportation is provided."

The issue now being sharply debated by the President's domestic policy advisers is: What is "suitable" work and who should make this determination—the federal government or the individual states?

In the backstage legislative drafting conferences, Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Robert Finch has taken the position that the federal government should make both decisions.

According to Finch, unless the determination of "suitable" jobs is made at the federal level the 50 states would adopt as many different standards as states, causing new chaos in the welfare program.

Finch's stand is supported by Daniel F. Moynihan, assistant to the President for urban affairs. With federal control, he contended, the standard for a "suitable" job would mean $1.60 an hour minimum wage, and time-and-a-half overtime. This would tend to force wages upward for the working poor, he stressed.

Dr. Arthur F. Burns, the President's special assistant for domestic affairs, and Robert Mayo, director of the Budget Bureau, have taken the opposite position.

In their recommendations to the President, Burns and Mayo stated that the determination of the meaning of "suitable" work should be left to the welfare officials in the individual states. By following this course, they pointed out, the President would be supporting government decentralization—the theme of his "new federalism."

Federal standards, they warned, would disrupt welfare practices in several states which are designed to do just what the President wants to accomplish in his "work or else" proposal.

Burns and Mayo stressed that in the South and West during harvest time several states now require welfare recipients to take seasonal farm jobs that pay less than the federal minimum wage.

Under Finch's proposal, they argued, many of these jobs would not be considered "suitable" and welfare recipients would not be required to accept the work.

The President's final decision will be watched closely, since it is expected to determine the direction of the President's "new federalism." The President's announced desire to decentralize government and build up local and state governments would seem to indicate a preference for letting them define "suitable."

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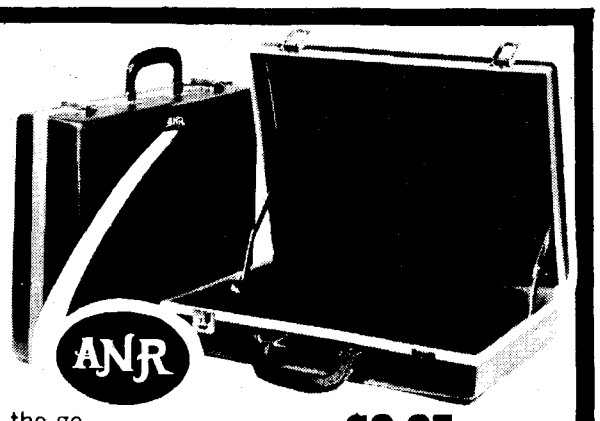

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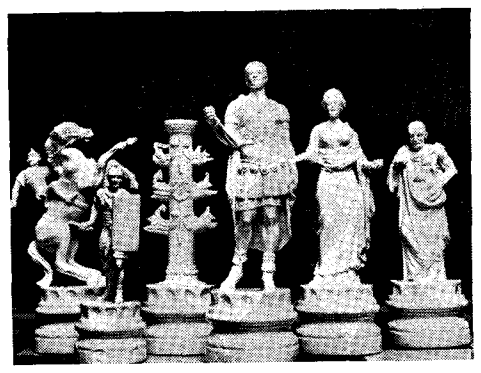

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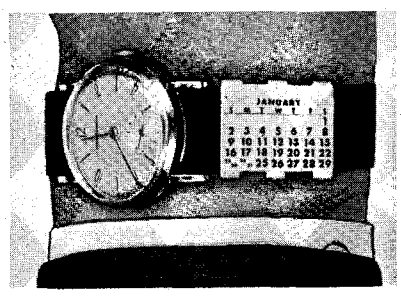

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Double Standard in Effect

Poison Gas Shipments O.K.—Unless They're for the Military

By COL. R. D. HEINL Jr.

Safe arrival of a cross-country shipment of World War I phosgene gas at Lockport, N.Y., puts an end to a transaction which illustrates the extent to which the anti-militarist wing of Congress is prepared to inflame public fears over the scare issue of chemical and biological warfare (CBW).

When word of this shipment became public recently, Rep. Richard D. McCarthy (D.-N.Y.), as well as other anti-militarist legislators, denounced the Defense Department for shipping what he repeatedly described as "deadly gas" in an irresponsible fashion. The resultant clamor from towns on the itinerary resulted in changes in movement plans and even caused the Canadian government to prohibit passage of the 14-car train in question across the southern Canada rail bypass between the Middle West and upstate New York.

Phosgene is one of the two oldest military chemical agents in our arsenal. Like chlorine, its chemical cousin, the gas dates from 1915 and was extensively used in World War I. Also like chlorine, phosgene is a lung-irritant gas which is indeed deadly in strong concentrations, but is characterized even in Massachusetts Sen. Edward M. Kennedy's recent anti-CBW report on chemical and biological weapons as possessing "low toxicity."

Compared to any of the nerve gases, or even to the World War I vesicants (such as mustard gas, which virtually replaced phosgene later in the war), phosgene is pretty feeble stuff. This, of course, is one reason why our remaining stocks of this agent are now long obsolete for military purposes and are being disposed of by the Army.

This disposal is facilitated because—again like chlorine—phosgene has industrial applications. It is used in the manufacture of certain plastics, which is why the 200-ton stock at Denver's Rocky Mountain arsenal was purchased by the Vandemark Chemical Co. which was actually responsible for this controversial shipment, not the Defense Department.

The point at which a "deadly war gas" becomes a common industrial chemical with accepted hazards is difficult to ascertain. Chlorine, phosgene's military contemporary, seems to have crossed the line. Nowadays, chlorine is manufactured, piped, bottled and shipped without public outcry or political uproar.

Besides chlorine, ammonia and the various cyanides are examples of quite dangerous commercial chemical agents which are at least as deadly as phosgene, if not more so. Yet they move freely in interstate commerce under specified safeguards such as those applied on the phosgene train and no doubt cross the Canadian frontier with impunity.

Acrylo-nitrile, the toxic, volatile liquid which flowed from a derailed Erie Railroad tank car recently at Cambridge Springs, Pa., is so hazardous masked Civil Defense volunteers had to dig a huge sump for earth burial of the chemical where it spilled.

None of these dangerous, non-military agents, together with others on a list which a railroad spokesman described "as long as your arm," seem to arouse the apprehension or protest of anti-militarist legislators.

Yet it would appear that industrial application of war chemicals—literally a detoxification process—is not only an economical but ideal way for the Defense Department to cut down its supply of such materials. Literally, such disposal procedures amount to beating swords into plowshares.

Conceivably Rep. McCarthy has not thought all this through, or is not wholly informed on phosgene.

Rep. Richard McCarthy (D.-N.Y.) apparently has no objections to shipments of toxic gases for industrial use.

This latter possibility should not be excluded. When questioned recently, his office acknowledged that, despite the fact this young congressman has been leading the anti-CBW shock troops on the Hill since last year, he has never taken time to visit or be briefed at any of the Defense Department chemical or biological warfare installations he so vociferously decries.

On a recent trip to the West, Mr. McCarthy stopped at Denver, the site of the Rocky Mountain arsenal chemical warfare facility he has repeatedly criticized. Yet he never took time to inspect or familiarize himself with this key installation.

He was no great distance from Dugway Proving Ground, our main CBW test site in Utah, yet he made no effort to see it or hear what its soldiers and scientists have to say.

This seeming unwillingness to inform himself—on the spot—on all sides of the inflammatory questions he so freely raises suggests the congressman, as well as his allies, may be primarily interested in political capital and publicity at the expense of the Defense Department rather than in serious solutions to serious problems in a dangerous time for the security of the United States.

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EASY ON THE RECIPIENTS—"An interesting note on the inherited problems of federal government finance—disparate interest rates, national and international, etc.—relates to operations of the International Development Association. IDA is a unit in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (commonly called the World Bank) of which Robert S. McNamara now is president. By the official definition, IDA 'provides finance on terms more flexible and bearing less heavily on the balance of payments of recipient countries than those of conventional loans.' How is that? Well, read on: 'These credits [loans] are on identical terms; each is for 50 years, free of interest. Repayment is due in foreign exchange; amortization is to begin after a 10-year period; thereafter, 1 per cent of the principle is repayable annually for 10 years and 3 per cent annually for the final 30 years. A service charge of ¾ of 1 per cent per annum, payable on the amounts withdrawn and outstanding, is made to meet IDA's costs.' 'More flexible and bearing less heavily on the balance of payments of the recipient countries?' One just naturally would surmise as much!"—From the Nashville *Banner*

Col. Heinl, retired from the Marine Corps, is military analyst for the North American Newspaper Alliance. He served in the Far East, Middle East and the Caribbean, generally in the intelligence field.

Whither Bernadette Devlin?

By the Rev. DANIEL LYONS, S.J.

The visit of Bernadette Devlin to this country raised hopes for the Catholics in Northern Ireland, who are the victims of severe discrimination in housing, voting and employment. Her visit also gave serious grounds for concern.

Her quickly formed support committee, called the National Association for Irish Justice, had Brian Heron as the national coordinator. Heron is a questionable character who spent the last four years as an organizer, agitator and boycott-promoter for Cesar Chavez. Also on the committee were Michael Harrington, one of the nation's most prominent Socialists; John DeLury, a left-wing activist in San Francisco; and New York's own leftist, Paul O'Dwyer.

In the San Francisco area Bernadette was in the care and custody of Jessica Mitford (also known as Decca Treuhaft), who has been identified as a Communist and even named as a Communist in the Communist press. In New York City, Miss Devlin's headquarters were in an apartment at 210 E. 23rd St., which also serves as headquarters for the New Left's Peace and Freedom party.

Many U.S. Catholics hesitated to contribute to Miss Devlin's cause because of her leftist ties.

On the Johnny Carson TV show on August 26, Miss Devlin stated her position, repeating what she has often said before: the problems in Northern Ireland must be resolved through the "class struggle," pitting class against class, the poor against the well-to-do. She calls for a restructuring of society according to the Socialist teachings of James Connolly. The latter was an Irish Republican Army leader (IRA), who, unlike his confreres, favored an extreme socialism and has often been called a Marxist.

The Daily World, the official Communist newspaper in New York, gave repeated headlines and pages of space to Bernadette. Its full editorial support was a clear indication to its followers to give her enthusiastic cooperation.

For example, on August 23 this leading U. S. Communist paper commented: "Miss Devlin, a Socialist, wants an Ireland based on the ideas of the great Irish Marxist labor leader and martyr, James Connolly. She urges support for black liberation in the U.S. as the same fight the Irish are waging for civil rights. Miss Devlin at 22 understands true proletarian internationalism better than many her senior in age."

Anyone familiar with the tactics of the Communist press knows that this was a strong official endorsement for the Reds to rally around. *The Daily World* gives such endorsements to a Catholic extremely rarely, and then only if he is a confirmed leftist.

The Irish Echo, the leading Irish-American newspaper in the United States, warned Americans on July 26 that Miss Devlin "was advocating a far-left approach, veering towards doctrinaire Marxism [while others] are prepared to pursue more parliamentary policies. This was blatantly obvious at a recent civil rights gathering in Newry when one section of the crowd, led by (Eamon) McCann and Devlin, sang the 'Internationale,' the Communist torch song, while another section sang the U.S. civil rights theme, 'We Shall Overcome.'" The latter song was made popular by Fidel Castro.

With reason, many Irish Catholics hesitated to contribute to her cause, first because there was no accounting: "We haven't time to count the money," she said repeatedly, although people who give money are entitled to an accounting. Secondly, with such a leftist group around her, they had every reason to wonder whether the funds were being diverted from charity to left-wing propaganda.

It is difficult to form an opinion about Bernadette's convictions. She seems to have gotten to the top too soon, and at the early age of 22 has fallen prey to far-left forces. Perhaps James Connolly was not a Marxist, but he was at least a confirmed and thorough Socialist and strongly opposed to the free enterprise system. Significantly, it was Connolly's son who hosted Miss Devlin in New York.

Socialism has never gained any civil rights for anyone, or helped oppressed minorities anywhere. It merely provides more power for bungling bureaucratic planners. The class struggle socialism espouses is easy meat for exploitation by the Reds. The Catholics in Northern Ireland already have enough to suffer without getting hurt some more while Bernadette, who knows nothing about socialism, finds out these things.

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NLRB Biased, Says Former Member

Congress Should Establish a Labor Court

By BARRY LAWRENCE

The present National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) seems determined to unionize all America whether America wants to be unionized or not.

In expressing this opinion, Gerard D. Reilly, noted Washington lawyer and a former member of the NLRB, cited statements of board members themselves.

"For example," said Reilly, "we find board members telling state labor relations agencies that their respective jobs have been only one-fourth accomplished because only 25 per cent of the nation's work force belongs to labor unions.

"As a result of this conception of its mission, the present board has not only overruled scores of precedents of the agency itself, but has also ignored the intent of the Congresses which framed the provisions of the very statute it administers."

Along with many other critics of the NLRB, Reilly contends that many board decisions in recent years have been flagrantly biased in favor of the unions and against employers, contrary to the law itself and contrary to the will of Congress. He says bluntly that the NLRB should be abolished and replaced with a labor court, as embodied in a bill introduced by Sen. Robert Griffin (R.-Mich.).

In urging this and other labor law reforms, Reilly speaks from long experience as a labor law specialist. A graduate of Harvard Law School, he served as solicitor of the Labor Department from 1937 to 1941 and as a member of the NLRB from 1941 to 1946. He was counsel to the Senate committee which reported the 1947 Taft-Hartley bill, and was a witness for industry groups advocating the Landrum-Griffin Act amendments in 1959. Last year he was among the critical witnesses who testified before the Senate subcommittee investigating NLRB procedures.

"Decisions of the present labor board and the courts have destroyed the balance of power between management and labor," Reilly said. "If this trend continues, I can foresee the end of collective bargaining as we have known it in this country.

"One of the most startling aspects of how the present board has disregarded congressional intent and cast aside guiding precedent has been a series of decisions which have virtually restructured the whole foundation of bargaining in certain industries," he added.

Unless Congress enacts labor law reforms to correct inequities and abuses, employers soon will be placed in such a position as to make it almost impossible to resist even the most unreasonable union demands, he said.

"Even now," Reilly said, "an employer often does not dare take a strike on economic grounds for fear of severe penalities and enormous back pay orders imposed by the NLRB and the courts."

He added it is becoming increasingly difficult for a lawyer to advise employer clients of their rights because the NLRB, supported by the courts, overrules well-established doctrines laid down by their predecessors.

This was illustrated most recently, Reilly explained, in an NLRB trial examiner's decision culminating more than six years of hearings and other procedures involving the 1960 strike at United Aircraft plants in Connecticut.

In the strike settlement it was agreed strikers who had been replaced would be given preferential treatment in rehiring as jobs became available through 1960. However, after Jan. 1, 1961, the company would be free to hire anybody without discrimination.

Under a brand-new doctrine adopted by the NLRB in the intervening period, the trial examiner's decision of last July 31 held the company had violated the Taft act in unfairly failing to keep the strikers on the preferential list beyond Jan. 1, 1961.

"As a result of the congressional separation of judicial and prosecuting functions in the 1947 amendments to the Wagner act, Congress expected the NLRB to operate essentially as a court," Reilly pointed out. "The board's duty is to apply the statute to the facts which have been developed in the hearings and to act as an impartial umpire in deciding unfair labor practice cases whether the complaint is against the union or against the employer."

The present labor board, however, rejects such a limited role and regards itself as a policy-making body, rewriting the law to suit its own notions, he said. The board consists of five members appointed by the President, with the consent of the Senate, for terms of five years each.

One bill to establish a labor court has been introduced by Sen. Robert Griffin (R.-Mich.).

The board's "disregard of the statute" was further exemplified in a recent ruling in which retirees of the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co. were held to be still employes of the company so far as their retirement benefits were concerned, Reilly said. Consequently, said the board, any changes in the benefits is a mandatory subject of collective bargaining with the union.

In reaching its decision, over the vigorous dissent of one of its members, the board disregarded the fact that the retirees could not vote in union affairs and no longer had any connection with the company. Under the board's tortured reasoning, said Reilly, the union at some future date conceivably could force a reduction of retiree benefits in return for increased benefits for active employes.

Nor does the present labor board hesitate to reverse itself or issue conflicting rulings in order to favor a union, Reilly said. For example, in the 1962 case of the Sewell Manufacturing Co., the employer told a group of white employes the union was active in integrating the races. Ruling this was an appeal to racial prejudice, the NLRB set aside a representation election which the union had lost.

By contrast, in the case of the Archer Laundry, three years later, union agents trying to organize Negro employes likened the employer to white Southern racists who attacked blacks with billy clubs, cattle prods and police dogs. The NLRB held the union was only exercising its right to free speech and was appealing not to racial prejudice but to racial pride.

"With such rulings as these, it is high time that Congress again enact labor reform legislation and replace the present NLRB with a labor court," concluded Reilly.

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Nixon's Biggest Problem: Inflation

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

A year or so ago, when Nixon and Humphrey were just starting out on the campaign trail, it was widely remarked that the next President would make it or break it on Viet Nam. After Viet Nam, in the order of priorities, came crime in the streets. Coupled to problems of crime were the tensions of race.

In the fall of 1969 these issues have yielded place. The great overriding concern, as members of Congress discovered during the August recess, is inflation. Tied to it is the companion issue of taxes.

I am not much on predictions, but let me try this one for size: If President Nixon fails to take effective measures to stop the upward spiral, he will never return in 1972. This is quite suddenly the greatest challenge he faces.

The reasons are apparent. The wretched war in Viet Nam, costly as it is, remains for most American families a remote and impersonal involvement. Crime rates are shocking, but crime is mostly something that happens to somebody else; only two of every 100 inhabitants are victims. Riots are four-day fevers, confined to dreary neighborhoods as socially distant as the stars.

But every family in the nation buys food every week. Children must be clothed. Household furnishings must be replaced. Automobiles have to be maintained. "I don't believe anyone mentioned the war to me," said Sen. John Sparkman, returning from Alabama. But he heard constant complaints of the rising cost of living.

The consumer price index went up 3 per cent in 1967, another 4 per cent in 1968. Thus far in 1969, prices are climbing at an annual rate of 6.4 per cent, enough to nullify the 7 per cent wage increases that have come to be a pattern.

Families that have won these increases are the lucky ones. By running as fast as they can, at least they stay in the same place. The upward spiral turns most painfully upon the 20 to 25 million persons over 60, most of them living on fixed retirement incomes, who are witnessing the steady erosion of the security they labored to provide. Their plight becomes desperate.

The mail brought a somber letter just last week from an old correspondent in the Midwest, a retired Latin teacher. In times past, her letters have been filled with good-humored comments on life and learning. She is a woman in her late 60s, a widow, a person of taste and sensibility. She apologized for writing a blue note, but—

"What am I to do?" she asked. "So far as I can see, I never waste a single penny. I've cut down on food until I've lost seven pounds—maybe a good thing in some ways, but now my clothes don't fit. The television set is on the blink (where do you suppose that idiom came from?), and I dread to face the repairman. Everything I buy costs more than it cost just a few months ago.

"I wouldn't be crying on your shoulder if a notice hadn't arrived from the collector of property taxes. Effective October 1, the tax on this tiny house goes up by $15.44 a year. It isn't much and it won't send me to the poorhouse; I know it's needed for teacher salaries—hah!—and everything else. But I read the notice and burst into tears. . . ."

It would serve no purpose to name my old friend. Her name is legion. She is among millions of Americans who never imagined, in their worst nightmares, that one day they might be poor—not dirt poor, or welfare poor, or starving poor, but poor in the small and threadbare ways.

And the hell of it is that no one really is to blame. Food prices are up to the farmer, but farmers are hurting too. The costs of processing and transportation are up, but meat packers and truck drivers are hit by inflation also. Hourly wages are way up in the construction industry, at least in major cities, but skilled workers are few and demand is high.

Price and wage controls are abhorrent to a free society. No one wants them. But "what am I to do?" If Mr. Nixon can find the right answers, he's home free. If not, he and his party and the U.S. dollar may all disappear, to be replaced by new forms of regimentation no man can quite foresee.

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STATE AND LOCAL TAXES—Americans paid $67.5 billion in state and local taxes last year—an average of $338 a person. The non-partisan Commerce Clearinghouse disclosed that the bite was heaviest in New York state, where each man, woman and child was socked $503. Four other states boasted per capita levies over $400—California, $488; Nevada, $429; Hawaii, $421 and Wyoming, $405.

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BATTLE CRY?—"Recall the favorite charge of demonstrators across the country in 1968 was 'police brutality.' The FBI's Uniform Crime Report indicates that last year almost 16 of every 100 police officers nationally were assaulted in the line of duty, an increase of 17 per cent over 1967. In addition, 64 officers lost their lives as a result of criminal action in 1968, substantially above the annual average of 51 from 1960 to 1967. It appears that 'police brutality' was more of a battle cry than a wail of anguish."—From the Dallas *Morning News*

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Limit Call to 19-Year-Olds

Nixon Expected to Make Draft Changes

By JERRY GREENE

President Nixon is giving urgent consideration to issuing an executive order limiting draft inductions to the 19-year-old age group.

Young men reaching age 20 without a call from their draft boards would—barring an emergency—be secure in the knowledge that they had escaped military service.

The proposal for revamping selective service regulations is now before the President for final decision. The odds are heavily in favor of his early approval—an action which advisers believe would go far toward cooling the campuses in this new school year. This would contribute substantially toward the national atmosphere of quiet and calm which Nixon so dearly desires to get his own programs rolling.

Draft reform by executive order was chosen by White House advisers as a prudent procedure when it became apparent that Congress had no intention of following presidential recommendations during this session and when private reports indicated no slackening in anti-war and anti-draft sentiment among the nation's students.

The stoning of former Secretary of State Dean Rusk's car when he spoke on the University of Wisconsin campus in August did not go unnoticed in Administration circles.

In a message to Congress last May 13, Nixon asked for a reform of the draft through use of a lottery to determine order of induction, restriction of draft liability to a one-year period, and creation of a "prime age group" of 19-year-olds. He directed the National Security Council to come up with new regulations by December 1 to make the draft more "equitable."

There was, of course, political gimmickry in the President's approach, for he needed congressional authority only to institute use of a lottery. The Selective Service Act gave him full authority to write almost any regulations he wished concerning age groups and exemptions.

Because he included the concept of the lottery, a scheme favored in Congress only among those who have had little experience with manpower legislation, the President received much instant support for his draft plan.

But nothing happened. Nixon let the issue ride and this was just dandy with House and Senate Armed Services committees. Then, after the President ordered the start of troop cutbacks in Viet Nam, the anti-draft bitterness began to rise as if in proportion. Quietly, Defense Secretary Melvin Laird was assigned to begin beating the drums to arouse Congress for movement on draft reform.

That was a lost cause from the outset; recently Chairman John Stennis (D.-Miss.) of the Senate Armed Services Committee, who had introduced the Administration's draft shakeup bill, issued a statement saying it was "highly unlikely" that there would even be hearings this year.

No college protester has more distaste for the draft than Nixon; the President began an overly optimistic campaign months before his election to create an all-volunteer Army, keeping the draft machinery only as a standby mechanism for emergency use.

But it has become increasingly clear that, if Nixon wants anything done about the draft at any time soon enough to soothe youthful turbulence in the colleges, he will have to do it himself.

It will take a lot of guts for Nixon to order inductions restricted to the 19-year age group, even though he has the broad congressional authority. Any kind of change in selective service regulations brings a cry of outrage, a charge of unfairness; and he will hear plenty from parents of the fading teen-agers whose neighbors' sons just turned 20, thereby escaping service and perhaps death in a jungle somewhere.

However, if the reform is to serve any real purpose, to be meaningful and useful to society as a whole, it must come quickly and with dramatic impact. There are a lot of youngsters who were graduated from college last July but who still can't find decent jobs because under present regulations they are liable for induction to age 26. The senior classes heading back to the campus next month include thousands more, restless, uneasy and irritable because of uncertainty.

Implementing the restriction can be sticky, particularly the effort to fix cut-off dates in the interest of fairness. But these can be set with less fuss than might erupt if nothing is done.

Something is already in the works. For reasons the brass won't explain, the Pentagon has delayed since the due date of August 1 the notification to Selective Service of the size of the draft call for October. (The September call was 29,000.)

Selective Service would have no problem in meeting the anticipated draft calls for the remainder of this year from the 19-year age group for, even at past force levels, inductions fall off in the autumn. There were 124,300 19-year-olds classified as 1-A or 1-AO (conscientious objectors) on August 26. During the last fiscal year, 260,000 men were drafted over-all.

There is at this moment no foreseeable end to the draft of at least a trickle of young men for Army duty. There isn't any way Nixon or anybody else will ever make conscription popular. But he could lift, with the stroke of a pen, the uncertainty hanging over the heads of tens of thousands between the ages of 20 and 26, and this he is being urged to do.

(1969, Chicago *Tribune*-N.Y.*News* Syndicate)

Two Reasons for New Hope for Colleges

By VICTOR LASKY

Two recent developments may give heart to those Americans who have despaired that the Groves of Academe ought to be written off as the happy hunting grounds for left-wingers and black militants.

One is the formation of the National Council of Scholars (NCS), a group of professors fed up with the left-wing antics on the nation's campuses, and the other is a brilliant speech on the futility of "black studies" by Andrew F. Brimmer, a Negro governor of the Federal Reserve Board.

Mr. Brimmer laid it on the line. "Black studies," he insisted, can do very little to prepare black youth "to meet the vigorous competition for employment opportunities in the post-college world."

"After all," he added, "it should be obvious to Negro students that—while some of them are gaining a measure of heightened pride through enrollment in 'black studies'—the vast majority of black and white students are devoting themselves to the attainment of enough expertise in some area of specialization to allow them to compete at least for beginning professional jobs once they leave college.

"So, rather than supporting the rise of a new cult of incompetence—which 'black studies' can only assure—the academic community (including faculty and students, both black and white) should get on with meeting the real challenge of education today: the preparation of disadvantaged young people to take their place in an open and integrated society."

The Brimmer speech, delivered at a convention of Phi Epsilon Pi fraternity, has been widely circulated in academic circles. Whether it will have any major effect in institutions where "black studies" has become a major battle cry of militants—both black and white—is another question. But at least Mr. Brimmer said what had to be said. And that is encouraging.

The other encouraging development was the formation of the National Council of Scholars. The chairman is Prof. David N. Rowe of Yale, one of the outstanding authorities on the Far East who is not prone to hand over Asia to the Chinese Reds.

The first paper issued by this promising group is on academic alienation. Those who contributed to its writing include Professors Gerhart Niemeyer of Notre Dame; Stefan Possony of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace; Will Herberg of Drew; and Karl Wittfogel of Columbia.

These professors also laid it on the line. "The influence of alienated professors," they say, "is the most sustained source of radicalism on the campus, in that these are men and women in places of authority who have severed their inner bonds of loyalty with our society. . . .

"Any attempt to enter into a dialogue with the ideologically alienated should be avoided. There is no basis for a rational discussion with them, since they have opted for a world of their own making and removed themselves from ours, so that meanings are not the same to them as to us, and their words conform to the laws of struggle rather than to those of discourse. . . ."

These are strong words, indeed, but they need saying, in view of the patent mess that the alienated professors have created—deliberately, according to NCS—in institutions where quiet contemplation and study used to be the rule rather than the exception.

The formation of NCS serves another purpose, however. It demonstrates that not all is lost on the nation's campuses.

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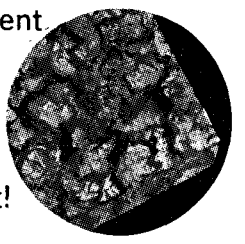

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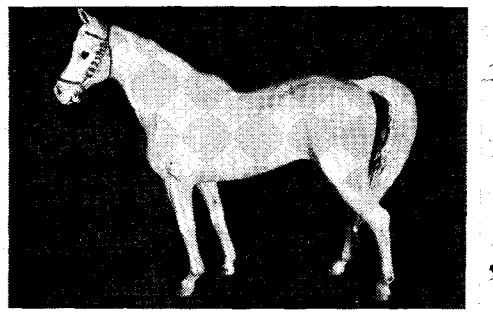

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Anti-Americanism in the Philippines

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

A returning traveler stood at one of Washington's more pleasant watering places and held forth on his recent journey. He had been to the Philippines and was appalled at the violent anti-American feeling there. Though the United States liberated the islands from the Japanese, granted them freedom from American rule, and poured many millions into the country to restore its economy, we are still hated as imperialists. Poverty, said the traveler, is endemic to the Philippines, and Uncle Sam is blamed for it.

But is it our fault? Or have the Filipinos failed to make use of their tremendous natural resources in bringing about the prosperity they demand? If America is to blame, it is only because it has allowed its businessmen to develop agriculture and industry in the Philippines. This is called exploitation because a profit was made. Meanwhile, the richest areas of the island nation have lain fallow.

A case very much in point is the Philippine island of Palawan. Poverty is rampant on this 400-mile-long island. Only two towns have electricity and food must be imported to keep the 200 inhabitants from starving to death. Yet Palawan could be one of the richest provinces in the Philippine Republic.

Its soil is so rich that it could be, as a visiting newspaperman recently noted, "the breadbasket of the whole Philippine nation." It has the largest deposits of mercury in the Far East, and large quantities of other minerals. The climate is good and the typhoons bypass it. There are great stands of timber on Palawan and its coastal waters are alive with fish.

Yet nothing has been done on this incredibly rich land to replace subsistence farming with cash-crop production. Using primitive implements, the Filipinos grow one crop a year, and for the most part fail to use simple irrigation techniques in the summer dry season. Systematic fishing of the waters is unknown. From time to time the boats go out, drop a charge of dynamite in the water, and gather up the fish killed by the blast. Half the labor force does no work at all, relying on handouts from Manila and the largess of relatives.

When Charles A. Lindbergh visited Palawan recently, on a wild-life conservation mission, a London *Observer* reporter who accompanied him sadly wrote that "this almost unknown potential paradise is in its sorry state because of sloth, indifference, greed and corruption." These are traits, however, that would disappear if the Philippine government took some interest in the island, sent in teachers who could instruct the people in modern farming methods, and began to extract the minerals under the soil. The mercury deposits alone could put Palawan on its feet economically. United States aid, however, stays in the large cities of the Philippines, where the political action is. Almost none of it goes to those areas that could make sound use of it.

Despite millions in American aid, conditions in the Philippines remain crowded and primitive, while opportunistic politicians make hay attacking the U.S.

It is more profitable for Philippine politicians to use American aid to prime the electoral pump and to line their pockets. It is easier to attack the United States than to roll up one's sleeves and go to work on rich islands like Palawan. In point of fact, the underdeveloped and ignored areas of the Philippines could be made to sustain the national economy without the Yankee dollar—if the will were there. Perhaps that will is lacking because the Yankee dollar removes the need for self-help.

The Filipinos are not alone, however, in their failure to make their economies work. Among the "new" nations of Asia and Africa, the politicians have learned that they can stretch out a hand for American aid with one hand while beating Uncle Sam over the head with another. Should they be blamed for this? It makes political sense to give the poverty-stricken people of their countries the bread and circuses which this ambidextrous exercise provides.

The real blame lies with the Congress and successive Administrations which have fallen all over themselves in providing aid, without bothering to discover what that aid was doing to the recipients.

American dollars put Western Europe on its feet after World War II, but Britain, France, Belgium, Italy and the other receivers of foreign aid had an industrial class already in existence. They needed money, not know-how. And they were merely rebuilding, along more modern lines, what had existed before the lights began to go out in 1939.

If the millions spent in the Philippines had been properly channeled, Palawan *would* be the breadbasket of the Far East, and its waters would be supplying needed protein to millions of people in the South Pacific. And consequently there might conceivably be less anti-Americanism in a region of great strategic importance.

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Playing East Against West

Algeria's Tricky Balancing Game

By RICHARD BOCKLET

Algiers:—Algeria is maneuvering in a "Third World" balancing game. Conceding military dependence on the Soviet Union, President Houri Boumedienne still keeps open doors to the West.

While welcoming lavish Soviet aid following the Arab-Israeli war, Algeria is becoming increasingly aware of the strings attached. It has learned that Moscow's say over use of Egypt's Russian-supplied military machine is more than was bargained for. Also, the Soviet insistence on personally reorganizing President Nasser's forces distressed Algerian officials. And in Algeria itself, it is reported, one of Russia's tactics is refusal to supply large stocks of spare parts; in effect, Algeria cannot stage any sustained war without Soviet approval.

France plays the leading role in Algeria's counter-balance. Around 100,000 French nationals operate small businesses, act as technical advisers and staff government agencies. In contrast to Soviet-trained armed forces, the police are French-instructed. Their units are equipped with French-supplied armoured patrol cars, with anti-tank cannon and machine guns.

According to informed sources, Algeria wants France to increase her military training program. And, just recently, an Algerian order for French fighter jets demonstrated an attempt at military diversification.

On the economic front, France accounts for about 60 per cent of Algeria's foreign trade, followed by the United States, West Germany and Italy. Machinery and industrial equipment are largely bought from Western markets.

And yet the Russian military investment here is about $250 million.

Algerian armed forces have an estimated 300 Soviet tanks, 200 planes—including 150 MIG jets, 15 to 20 Antonov transport carriers and 25 to 30 Ilyushin-28 bombers—and six Komar guided missile patrol boats with STYX sea-to-sea missiles.

Despite the Red fleet build-up in the Mediterranean Sea, however, the best information here is that Russian naval bases do not presently exist in Algeria and are not sought. As one informed source in Algiers explained to me: "We know that Soviet instructors are working with Algerian Navy personnel in the abandoned French base of Mers-el-Kebir, near Oran. But with the Russian fleet composed of large numbers of submarines, the need for permanent bases is minimal." Local observers also note that the last Soviet military call at Algiers harbor was last November, although commercial vessels are frequently seen.

Concern is voiced, however, over Red activity on modernized military airports left by the French in 1962. Recently lengthened airstrips now accommodate the largest Soviet aircraft and the Soviets are seen as bidding for air bases far south of the important American installation, Wheelus Field, in Libya.

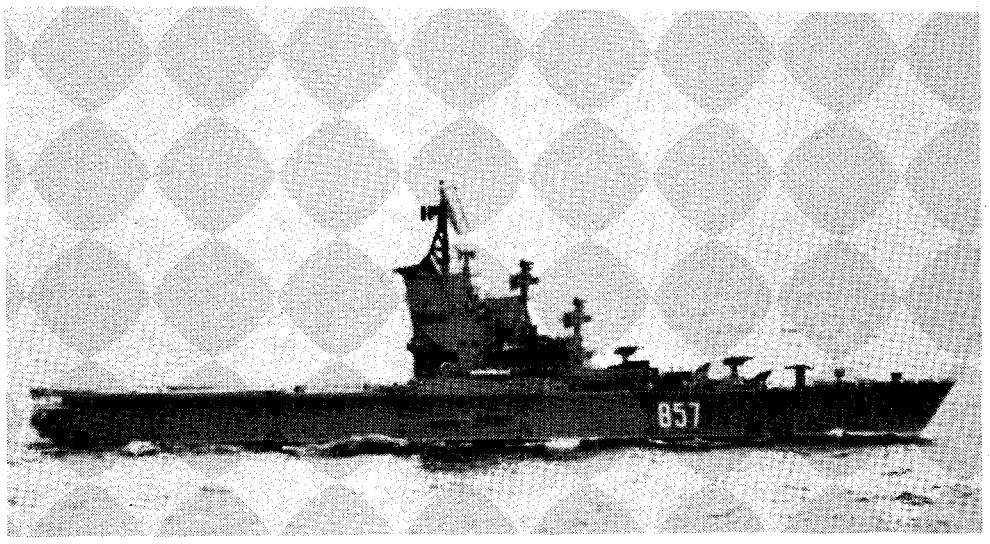
These airports could serve useful purposes for both parties. First, as a depot for supplies to Soviet-backed rebel forces in central and southern Africa. Secondly, in an Arab-Israeli conflict, these far-off bases would offer better security for Arab planes against Israeli air attacks than would any in Egypt.

But while Russia's presence is felt, Red China has little voice here. Much is promised, but little delivered. Currently, Chinese are constructing a trade fair building and providing a medical mission. As one Western diplomat told me: "You hear so little about Communist China here, you have to check the phone directory to know where its embassy is located."

In exchange for Russian aid, Algeria backs the Soviet Union on the international political scene.

For example, in the Czechoslovakian affair, Algiers slavishly quoted Russian press agency reports. During the recent anniversary of the Soviet-led invasion, government-controlled news media here brushed off the rioting as small and caused only by unrepresentative, reactionary elements. Commented one Algerian official privately: "Czechoslovakia is far off and of little interest to us. We're not going to jeopardize our Soviet relations by any anti-Russian statements."

Government media provide a daily diet of "anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist" invective. U.S. forces in South Viet Nam are "the enemy"; the Viet Cong are constantly lauded. But, on the touchy Russian-Chinese ideological dispute, Algeria remains tactfully quiet.



But on the domestic scene, the Communist party, along with other parties, was banned in November 1962. Its leaders are in jail. The 3,000 Red military and economic advisers here are kept away from the local population. Government security forces are alert against East bloc diplomats engaging in political infiltration. Communist ideological publications are not permitted to circulate in the country.

Algeria's domestic anti-Communist stance springs from the government's awareness of the Soviets' subversive tactics. Communist party and other leftist elements took part in the abortive anti-government coup of December 1967. Also, atheistic Marxist-Leninism is repulsive to a large number of Muslim Algerians.

The nation's stance as a revolutionary haven for Palestine forces challenging Israel and for black guerrillas fighting in southern Africa pleases Russia, too. Reports persist that insurrectionary warfare training camps are located in southern Algeria and recently the government made a large financial contribution to Al Fatah, the largest Arab guerrilla group.

After the Israeli victory in June 1967, Algeria made a bid to replace Nasser's Egypt as the leading nation of the Arab world. Seizing the opportunity, the Soviet Union moved in with its assistance offers. The attempt did not succeed, but Russia still counts on receiving some important dividends from its expensive investment.

Constant Pleas to Washington

Governors Shirk Their Responsibilities

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

My friend is a former governor's aide who attended the governors' conferences for many years. He says the prevailing obsession at the conferences has long been the cry for more federal money. It was no different this year. A reporter wired from Colorado Springs: "But the thing that always dominates their meetings is money—the lack of it and how they can get more of it from the federal government."

Were the governors distressed that President Nixon had proposed to take over so much of their responsibility for welfare? No, indeed! They asked him to take over the whole responsibility.

This response of the governors is at once the sign and the seed of our decadence. The governors *demand more services, more money.* Washington takes more of the people's money in order to provide the services. Power moves with the money.

The governors were really saying that this country does not need governors. If they can't handle local problems which require close coordination with the people, what can they do that is useful to society? Their logic leads to suicide. Those who are Socialists will frankly acknowledge that this must come. But the Socialists are wrong. Centralization multiplies problems—it does not solve them.

You can say with assurance that no one knows what is in the federal budget. Certainly the President doesn't know. No one can really comprehend what is being done with $170 billion.

If you divide the federal budget by 50 to distribute the work to the states, you begin to talk in manageable figures. There are, of course, essential federal functions of defense and foreign policy which cannot be decentralized. It would tax the federal government to manage these budgets efficiently. But we are adding to this essential federal load problems of the local communities which can be better handled at the community level.

One explanation of the drift of power to Washington is the greater tax and credit resources of the federal government. The income tax has supported—perhaps compelled—the federal assumption of state responsibilities. However, it is easily possible to limit the federal share of taxes and to increase the states' share correspondingly. This has not been done because other forces urge the concentration of power.

There is the inclination of a President to conceive a direct responsibility for all the people who elect him. If they have a problem, he will try to solve it. His compulsion to give direct service wars with the constitutional order.

Congress plays a similar role. It hunts out pockets of malnutrition in the states as though the states did not exist. Every need of the people becomes a federal project.

President and Congress are seduced by the cult of justice. Some citizens cannot tolerate the diversity of 50 states. They demand that all states conform in every respect to their conception of what is best for society. They can achieve their goal only through the exercise of federal power—they think.

If Mississippi schools are inferior to New York schools, the federal government must correct the imbalance. If country schools in Pennsylvania are inferior to city schools, the federal government must equalize them. This mentality is intolerant of human liberty because liberty produces diversity: in the name of justice, this mentality demands dictatorship.

The consequent concentration of power is inherently corrupt. It separates money from the control of those who earn it. It gives control to bureaucrats divorced from the discipline of the people.

Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's plea for federalized welfare is symptomatic of states' unwillingness to resist centralization.

When you pour money into the anonymous grab-bag of the federal treasury, that money acquires an insidious corrupting potential. That is why the poverty program was such a boondoggle.

The architects of our Constitution understood these basic relationships. They designed a government which kept the money close to the people who supplied it. The governors are tearing down that sound political order to join the barbarians.

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CIA Agents Report:

Red China Has Second H-Bomb Plant

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

Our Central Intelligence Agency finds that, behind the scenes, Red China now has completed its second and alternate H-bomb production center. Heavily screened and much of the new construction underground, it is at Paotow, Suiyuan Province, 260 miles west of Peking and due south of Mongolia's Gobi Desert.

CIA agents in China report that the Paotow landscape is stark and depopulated, with not enough wood to hang a man, not enough soft earth to bury a man—a desperately forbidding country, as quiet and subdued as if the plague had struck.

Many of the colossal buildings are as heavily constructed as a battleship and the CIA agents find nearly all are windowless. Some are enormous, stern gray monsters billowing skyward in tier after tier of steel; and some are not populated by a single man because the process inside is so deadly. Only robots (French-made) are used. Still others consist of row after row of aluminum-colored tubes, without walls. The fumes would be poisonous if confined by walls.

Mao Tse-tung's extravagant claims are well-known, but his nuclear program seems exempt from hyperbole.

Certain Paotow buildings are built as far down as the bedrock and it is there that the CIA agents began to get into the innards of the vast complex.

Hyperbole is a built-in characteristic of the Chinese language, and the romantic Utopianism of Mao Tse-tung's Great Leap Foward of 1958 and the claims since are no great leap forward at all—except in the foreign press. But Mao's nuclear program seems exempt.

He has succeeded in bringing in from Europe and Japan for the new Paotow complex whole prefabricated sections otherwise unobtainable. The West German Mannesman consortium shipped a complete steel tube and pipe plant that Mao needed. VOEST, the inventive steel firm of Linz, Austria, installed its revolutionary LD oxygen converter at Taiyuan. DEMAG, the French-Belgian consortium, sent in a $150-million rolling mill. Japan poured in nonferrous metals and bottleneck chemicals. The British delivered electronic computers.

The Paotow complex now supplements Mao's immense gaseous duffusion atom-bomb plant, which covers 14 acres near Lanchow, in what is called the Great Bend in the Yellow River, and takes hydroelectric power from that river.

Mao's secret police chief, Hsieh Fu-chih, controls the security at both nuclear complexes and both are now serving Mao's missile testing site at Lop Nor, 500 miles inside Sinkiang Province from the Soviet border.

The CIA agents find that, coincident with the Paotow complex coming (secretly) "on stream," the Soviet has made a countermove. The headquarters for the Kremlin's Mongolian Command is moving now to Choibalsan, only 75 miles from China's frontier.

The agents are reporting that they catch the sense of crisis crackling unseen, like electricity in the air. Out of character for the Soviets, there is intense rivalry, and top-level backbiting, between the Soviet infantry, the armoured branch and the air force commands. As one result, there has been a bad imbalance of the Kremlin's assault forces in Mongolia.

The CIA agents find this being remedied, however. They have spotted the Red Army chief of staff, Marshal Matvei Zakharov, at Chiobalsan and attribute the unifying moves to Zakharov. But they have not sufficiently penetrated the new Choibalsan headquarters to determine any specific Kremlin orders to the three assault branches now heavily present.

The CIA is currently making five major estimates that flow from the Paotow achievement:

(1) Mao detonated his first of five atom bombs on Oct. 16, 1964. By Dec. 24, 1967, he had his first H-bomb. Mao has surprised us again by contructing a second and alternate H-bomb production center and by the speed of completion.

(2) Red China now has a nuclear stockpile.

(3) Red China's speed in achieving a missile delivery program, revealed in the tests at Lop Nor, puts that threatening program far ahead of where former Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara announced it would be by mid-1969. Mr. McNamara was years wrong in his estimates.

(4) Mao may already have delivery systems that can reach eastern Russia, Korea, Viet Nam, Malaya, India and Japan.

(5) By this time next year their range may reach Hawaii and Alaska and by another year the entire Pacific Coast of the United States.

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'A Total Break With America'

By ALICE WIDENER

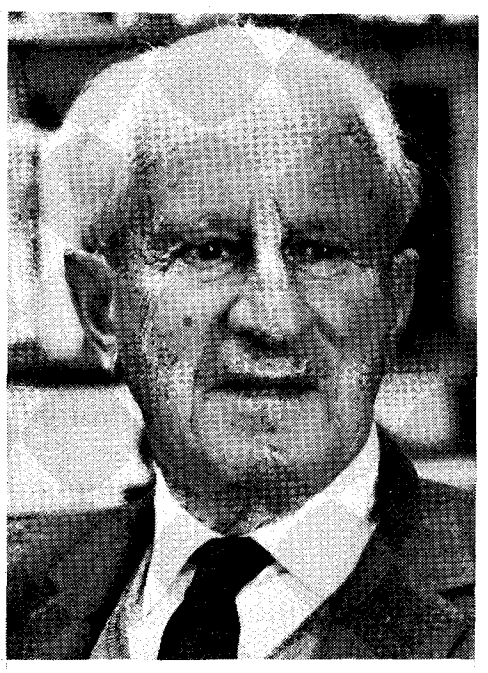
The Fifth Annual Conference of Socialist Scholars took place over the weekend of September 5-7 at Hofstra University, Hempstead, N.Y. The conference theme was "Aspects of Socialist Culture" and the official invitation, issued last May, said that since the SSC has succeeded in helping to build "a long-needed sense of collective identity among Socialist scholars," the organization would now expand to functions by recognizing that "any Socialist organization —even one limited to intellectual work— *is* a political organization.

As such, the tax-exempt Socialist Scholars Conference says its name "implies opposition to the capitalist organization of society" and that SSC seeks to involve and influence intellectuals and activists in the struggle to build socialism in America and everywhere.

As the Marxist brain trust of radical America, the SSC has achieved such success on the home front that it has openly joined the international revolutionary Socialist movement and next November will sponsor in conjunction with the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation a public symposium under the slogan "Toward a Revolutionary Strategy for Advanced Industrial Countries."

At Hofstra University the Socialist Scholars' main target for destruction is the American corporation. In a panel discussion on "The Student Response to the American Century," Friday afternoon, September 5, Bruce Brown of Washington University said, "The university is the weak link of capital corporate structure. The student movement is a catalyst for extending revolution outside the campuses."

Brown said the corporation is the "nuclear institution" around which American capitalism is organized, and



A discussion of the works of Prof. Herbert Marcuse caused one Socialist Scholar to proclaim "A total break with America."

he charged that in our country "affluence is only attained through the surrender of control to corporate bureaucracy." Describing himself as a revolutionary, Bruce Brown told the Socialist Scholars, "We must begin an anti-corporate struggle on its own terrain and not wait for a crisis."

At a Friday morning panel on "Marcuse [Herbert]: His works and Influence," *Martin Jay of Harvard University told* the Socialist Scholars and radical students in a hall at the Student Center: "Our movement is a movement which, in effect, is a total break with America."

It certainly is. If the Socialist Scholars are permitted to progress along their disruptive and revolutionary path, it is entirely possible that first the American corporate structure will be broken and then America itself.

During a discussion of Marcuse's work, Ronald Aronson, assistant professor of humanistic studies at Wayne State University, said it is necessary to tear away the veil that everyone draws over his own life "to keep going" in America. Aronson said, "and because tearing away the veil is hardly a matter of convincing people's intellects, revolutionaries need to engage the whole person—his activity, his imagination, his sense of lost hopes—not tracing the structure of capitalism, but blowing people's minds."

The Socialist Scholars trace the structure of capitalism only through the dark veil of Karl Marx' warped perspective. "Marxism is the only theory of capitalistic development," proclaimed Bruce Brown. "To deny Marxism is to deny that capitalism still exists."

The Socialist Scholars welcome into their midst all Marxists, adult and student Leninists, Stalinists, Trotskyites and Maoists. That is why Ralph Schoenman, passionate Trotskyite and head of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, opened his panel discussion, Saturday morning, September 6, in Adams Hall at Hofstra University, with the following salutation: "Comrades, friends, and all of us who are revolutionaries. . . ."

What utterly amazes me, after hours and hours of listening to the Socialist Scholars' mind-blowing, is how any American in his or her right mind can be surprised at the violent student rebellions on campuses. The revolutionary students are only doing what comes naturally after classroom learning experience with mind-blowing Socialist Scholars.

(U.S.A. Syndicate)

New Anti-Military Schemes

By SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER

A major hang-up of American liberals today concerns what, if anything, can be done about the structure of the so-called "military-industrial complex."

They have pushed so hard on the theme of the MIC and the Defense Department being generally evil in their very existence that the situation calls for more than temporary, piecemeal actions.

In other words, a reduction of authorizations and appropriations for specific weapons programs is not regarded as sufficient to meet the tremendous "danger" the liberals tell us stems from the MIC.

Nor are the customary recommendations for study groups, "watchdog" commissions and greater congressional scrutiny of defense spending sufficient to the "peril" which many of these critics have described.

There seems to be a feeling among the liberals that something drastic must be done to strike at the heart of the machinery that now exists for maintaining our armed services and providing them with the tools of their trade.

One of the most drastic—and certainly one of the most foolish—suggestions came from economist John Kenneth Galbraith in testimony before Sen. William Proxmire's subcommittee on economy in government. Galbraith, called to testify as something of an expert on governmental affairs, proposed that all companies doing more than 75 per cent of their total business with the U.S. government be nationalized.

The experience of the British Commonwealth with the whole concept of nationalization should tell anyone as well read as Galbraith that this is the surest road to waste and inefficiency in the handling of defense work.

When an industry or a company is nationalized, it is taken over by the government and operated under the direction of bureaucrats. Its managers are not motivated by the incentives which propel the free enterprise system. Consequently, they are not interested in a particularly high level of performance.

Aside from the questionable wisdom of pursuing such a course, there is the whole question of how Galbraith's suggestion could be placed into operation and maintained administratively. It is well known, for example, that the amount of government work performed by some large corporations varies enormously from one year to the next or from one contract to the next.

An executive with one of the nation's largest aerospace industries asks what would happen to a company which one month did 80 per cent of its gross business with the government and only 60 per cent the following month. Would there be a procedure whereby a particular company could be nationalized for part of the year and function as an entity of the free enterprise system for the remainder?

Obviously, such a system would be impossible to operate. But like so many liberal programs, the Galbraith suggestion was not backed up by any practical recommendation for ways to implement it. One gets the feeling the idea was to grab headlines for the major critics of the Defense Department and the so-called MIC.

A new plan along the same lines, being kicked around by the critics of our military system, would prohibit the government from awarding new contracts to any company already doing more than half its business with the Defense Department.

This is another of those suggestions that looks good until you examine it closely. For example, what happens if a contract for some vitally important item of our national defense is arbitrarily withheld from the company best suited to fill it—by experience and technological expertise—because it already does more than 50 per cent of its business with the Defense Department?

Such requirements would prove extremely costly to the American taxpayer. The know-how and experience paid for through previous contracts would automatically be sacrificed, and the taxpayer would be forced to pay while some company with less than 50 per cent defense-connected business learned the necessary techniques.

One of the really dangerous consequences of the present drive to cut down on the influence of the military is the possibility that well-sounding and unworkable schemes may be adopted in the belief that they will eliminate the so-called "dangers" of the MIC.

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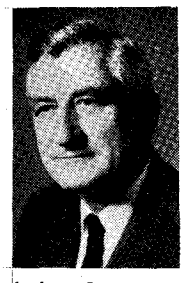
SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Recognize Castro Cuba?

By REP. JAMES A. HALEY (D.-Fla.)

I am somewhat mystified by the fervor of those who would recognize Castro's Cuba. Their arguments offer few benefits while carefully overlooking some quite important points.



They say recognizing Cuba would halt aircraft hijacking and win compensation for American property seized by Castro. These are possible rewards, but we have no assurance that they would follow recognition, and even if they did, this would be small gain for what we would lose.

On the other side of the coin, recognition would first place our stamp of legitimacy on the Communist aims and ambitions both in Cuba and other American nations. Diplomatic recognition is, of course, sought chiefly so that trade relations can be resumed.

This would relax economic pressures on Cuba and in turn on the Soviet Union, which is Castro's master and is pouring $1 million a day into the island empire to keep him in power and permit Cuba to follow his announced plans of financing more revolutions in South and Central America.

As for the move to recognize Castro, I would point out that the Cuban monster has made no changes in his announced plans to spread his Communist doctrines far beyond his own shores, nor has he offered any evidence of any intent to change those plans, not even in exchange for recognition by this country.

The expulsion from the United States in August of a Cuban representative to the United Nations, and the barring of the return to this country of another, should clearly show that the foreign relations motives of Cuba leave much to be desired. While State Department officials hedged (as they almost always do) when questioned about the expulsions, it is obvious that the Cubans have been using their United Nations privileges to work against the nation's interests. This is hardly behavior we should expect from a nation seeking our recognition.

Haynsworth Appointment

By REP. O. C. FISHER (D.-Tex.)

Judge Clement F. Haynsworth is the first man from the South to be appointed to the Supreme Court since 1954. His record shows that he believes in the Constitution, in law and order, and in the legitimate exercise of individual freedom. He certainly possesses the attributes to become a great justice. Thus, it may turn out that for the first time in 13 years the Supreme Court will become independent of the activist, liberal coalition which has ruled that court throughout that period. As it now stacks up, assuming Judge Haynsworth is confirmed, the liberal activists will be in the minority, with the majority controlled by Justices Harlan, Stewart, White, Haynsworth and Chief Justice Burger. And as many as three other vacancies on the High Court appear likely before President Nixon leaves office. This development is, of course, highly significant for the American people, and a welcome one. It may mark the beginning of a new era in judicial responsibility, with the Supreme Court in the future expected to adhere to strict construction of the Constitution, while exercising proper judicial restraint in carrying out its duties. Let us hope that will be the case.

Electoral Reform

By REP. JOHN DOWDY (D.-Tex.)

The House is presently debating a bill to change the method of electing the President. The pending proposal would write into the Constitution that a candidate could be elected who received only 40 per cent of the popular vote.

Its proponents claim it follows the principle of "one man, one vote." To the contrary, it would institute the principle of "one man, one-and-a-half votes," because were it adopted, a successful candidate for President could be elected even if he received only two votes, while his opponents were receiving three votes. It would make it possible for the election of a President by the 12 largest cities in the United States, while other parts of the nation preferred other candidates.

It is my opinion, if we have a direct election of the President, that the prevailing candidate should be required to receive 50 per cent of the vote, or a majority. Those who advocate changing the Constitution to permit a 40 per cent election must bear the burden of proof that their remedy for an acknowledged inequity will not produce greater evils in the body politic than those it would change. This they have not done. I prefer the District plan for election of the President. It would more nearly correct the present inequities, without the evils that would accompany the 40 per cent direct election proposal.

Crime Capital

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

Rampant lawlessness continues behind the marble fronts of the government buildings that always impress visitors to Washington, D.C. For the month of August 1969, Washington police reported 714 armed robberies—an all-time record for any one month in the history of the nation's capital city. Police ascribed the scourge of armed robberies to (1) increased drug addiction and the necessity to obtain money to buy narcotics; and (2) leniency of the courts in dealing with criminals. It will be recalled that in May of this year there was a 37.5 per cent increase in the number of murders and a 66.7 per cent increase in the number of women raped in Washington as compared with last year. There were 22 murders and 25 women raped in one month, and not all cases of rape are reported to police. Altogether, Washington, D.C., behind its exterior of ornate buildings, lavish dining halls and glittering social life, is one of the worst if not the worst crime-ridden cities in the United States. Was it Nero who fiddled while Rome burned?

Mars Can Wait

By SEN. GORDON ALLOTT (R.-Colo.)

I do not feel that sending a man to Mars can be made a realistic priority at this time. Perhaps in years to come, if we get our fiscal situation in order, and if the Viet Nam war is successfully resolved, we can revise our thinking on this matter. But to commit the amount of money and resources necessary to send a man to Mars at this particular time would be most unwise. I say this as one who has supported the space program.

Priorities, however, change, and the war in Viet Nam and various problems at home, not the least of which is our fiscal and monetary situation, must dictate our thinking at this time.

In saying this, however, I want to make it clear that I am not suggesting, as some members of Congress have, that all space funds be diverted to the problems in the cities. I think that such a course would be equally unwise. We are living in the space age, and to retreat from it would have grave consequences on the United States as a nation.

What we need is a sensible balance between our needs at home and abroad, and a reasonable continuing space program.

$500 Million in Advice

By REP. JOEL T. BROYHILL (R.-Va.)

I regard the complexity of our tax laws as contributing as much as anything else to the public dissatisfaction. A year ago, more than 25 million taxpayers had to seek paid assistance—at charges which averaged at least $20 per return—in the preparation of their federal income tax returns. More than $500 million was spent by our people to have someone else tell them how much they owed their government. I think this is scandalous. A means must be found to provide a more understandable tax system—one that the ordinary citizen can apply without having to seek special assistance.

'Peace at Any Price' Doves

By REP. SAM STEIGER (R.-Ariz.)

Allard Lowenstein, a freshman Democratic member of Congress from Long Island, outside of New York City, held a press conference last week. He announced that he was giving President Nixon two more weeks to shape up on his Viet Nam policy and then he would start to criticize him.

This is tantamount to my announcing to Vince Lombardi that I would watch his first regular game as coach of the Washington Redskins and if the results didn't please me I would explain what he was doing wrong. As a matter of fact, my role makes a little more sense, since I did play football several centuries ago.

The whole situation would be ludicrous if it were not part and parcel of a much larger and more damaging picture. A proven method for getting the most unqualified views aired in the press by any politician regardless of his stature or lack of expertise is to sing like a dove about the Viet Nam conflict.

This partaking of political profit at the expense of national welfare is not new or limited. However, it is my view at this point in our history, criminal.

Every elected voice that is raised in this country espousing a "peace at any price" concept is seized upon by the practiced propagandists directing the Communist efforts and circulated as the best possible evidence that the American resolve is crumbling. And that delay, procrastination and time will bring about a victory that makes meaningful negotiations not only unnecessary but a useful tool to stall by.

The Fulbrights, McCarthys, Javitses, et al., are quoted, reproduced and relayed not only to the negotiators but probably more significantly to the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese regulars to bolster their morale.

There are those of us who hold an entirely different view, but who are either reluctant to speak because of the almost certain distortion by the great bulk of the Eastern media, or that what we say will be ignored. I feel that our course in Viet Nam has been one of reaction rather than one of action. I believe in the light of the blatant failure of our conciliatory tactics that the time has come to renew the bombing of North Viet Nam.

I believe that the only way to make the Paris peace talks meaningful is to convince the North Vietnamese that for their sake as well as ours the war must end.

I advocate the bombing of the dikes in the Red River Delta or any other departure from past tactics that will reliably demonstrate our determination.

I would remind you that the Korean truce talks dragged on for some 18 months and then President Eisenhower ordered the bombing of the dams on the Po Yang River in May 1953. The truce was signed in June of the same year, less than three weeks after the bombing, and so the report goes, 24 hours after the warning of another bombing.

The point is that good will and concessions have only resulted in continued American casualties. That over 30,000 American lives have been spent in the determination that such future aggressions will not cost future American lives.

Maybe the basic point is that most Americans recognize the necessity of preserving peace by making it obvious that we are too strong to mess with. Romance, good will and a spirit of brotherhood are not going to get the job done by themselves.

The self-preservers will always be with us. They trade on doubt, American disgust with war. And perhaps saddest of all, most of them do so, fully aware of the harm they do.

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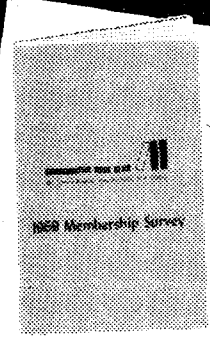

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